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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04577 01 OF 03 271537Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01
	/041W						

-----145E30 271538Z /38

P 271532Z DEC 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5380  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04577

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW  
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: THE PLOT THICKENS  
  
REF: KIGALI 4561

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04577 01 OF 03 271537Z  
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS JOINED THE  
JOCKEYING FOR POSITION AMONG POLITICIANS IN THE  
RUN-UP TO THE INSTALLATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT.  
INSTEAD OF HELPING TO BRIDGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
FRACTURED POLITICAL PARTIES, HOWEVER, HIS MOVE HAS  
SERVED TO ACCENTUATE DIFFERENCES AND EMPHASIZE HUTU  
UNITY. MEANWHILE, THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF RPF TROOPS  
ARRIVED IN KIGALI OVER THE WEEKEND AND THE BATTALION  
IS EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETE BY TUESDAY 12/28.

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APPARENTLY CONFIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE PUT  
IN PLACE, THE RPF ANNOUNCED VIA RADIO MUHABURA ITS  
NOMINEES FOR POSTS IN THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS.  
END SUMMARY.

-  
PRESIDENT ENTERS THE FRAY  
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3. AMONG THE LETTERS, COMMUNIQUE, AFFIRMATIONS AND  
DENIALS EXCHANGED AMONG POLITICAL LEADERS OVER THE  
CHRISTMAS WEEKEND WERE TWO FROM THE PRESIDENT. THE  
FIRST TO PRIME MINISTER AGATHE EXPRESSED HIS  
ASTONISHMENT AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S ANNOUNCEMENT  
OF DATES FOR THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.  
HE CLAIMED THAT HE SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONSULTED BEFORE  
SUCH A DECISION WAS TAKEN. THE SECOND WAS TO THE  
PARTIES DESIGNATED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE BROAD-BASED  
TRANSITION GOVERNMENT INVITING THEIR LEADERSHIP  
COMMITTEES TO A MEETING MONDAY DECEMBER 27 TO DISCUSS  
PREPARATIONS FOR INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04577 01 OF 03 271537Z  
INSTITUTIONS.

4. THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL DREW A SHARP REBUFF FROM  
THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AND  
HIS CURRENT COLLABORATORS, THE HEADS OF THE PSD, THE  
PDC, AND THE PL/LANDO FACTION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.  
THE LETTER STATED THAT FORMING THE GOVERNMENT WAS THE  
BUSINESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THAT CONSULTATIONS  
ARE ALREADY WELL ADVANCED. THE LETTER ALSO CLAIMED  
THAT THE PARTIES ARE TO TRANSMIT THEIR LISTS OF NAMES  
FOR DEPUTIES TO THE PRIME MINISTER. FURTHER, IT  
AFFIRMS ONCE AGAIN THAT IN THE CASE OF DUPLICATE  
LISTS, THE ONE RETAINED WOULD BE THAT DECIDED BEFORE  
THE ORIGINAL DATE FOR THE INSTALLATION OF THE  
GOVERNMENT, NAMELY SEPTEMBER 10.

5. THE PRESIDENT DID ATTRACT TO HIS MEETING,  
HOWEVER, MRND LEADERS, THE MDR LEADERSHIP OPPOSED TO  
FAUSTIN, (INCLUDING EX-PRIME MINISTER DISMAS  
NYSENGYIAREMGE, AND HARDLINERS EDOUARD KARAMERA AND  
DONAT MUREGO) AND THE PL LEADERSHIP OPPOSED TO LANDO  
(NAMELY PARTY PRESIDENT MUGENZI AND STANISLAS  
MBONAMPEKA, EX-MINISTER OF JUSTICE). CURIOUSLY,  
PRIME MINISTER AGATHE, A PROTEGE OF FAUSTIN, ALSO

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ATTENDED THE MEETING. A COMMUNIQUE IS EXPECTED LATER TODAY.

6. COMMENT: WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF DISMAS, THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING INCLUDED KEY INDIVIDUALS RECOGNIZED AS HUTU SUPREMISTS FROM THE SPECTRUM OF POLITICAL PARTIES. THIS WOULD APPEAR TO REFLECT A  
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04577 01 OF 03 271537Z  
STRATEGY TO PROMOTE THE UNITY OF CONSERVATIVE HUTUS BEING PROMOTED FOR MORE THAN A YEAR BY THE INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT (IDC) PARTY BASED IN BRUSSELS. RWANDAN SKEPTICS SAY THEY HAD BEEN WAITING FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE HIS MOVE. THEY NOTE THAT HE CONVOKED NOT THE PARTY PRESIDENTS AS IS HIS NORMAL CUSTOM, BUT THE LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES WHICH ARE DISTRESSINGLY DIVIDED. THEY ALSO NOTE THAT THE MEETING INCLUDED BOTH DISMAS AND MUGENZI, WHOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT AT BEST. END COMMENT.

MDR MODERATES

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04577 02 OF 03 271539Z  
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-----145E64 271539Z /38

P 271532Z DEC 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5381  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04577

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04577 02 OF 03 271539Z  
7. THREE MEMBERS OF THE DISMAS FACTION OF THE MDR  
CALLED ON CHARGE DECEMBER 27. THEY EXPLAINED THAT  
THEY WERE PART OF A 13 PERSON GROUP OF MDR MODERATES  
WHICH OPPOSES EXTREMISM AND WANTS TO BRING THE MDR  
BACK TOGETHER THROUGH A PARTY CONGRESS. THEY  
EXPLAINED THAT FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER BONIFACE  
NGULINZIRA IS THEIR SPOKESMAN; THE GROUP INCLUDES  
EX-PM DISMAS. THE GROUP CLAIMED THAT THEY ARE  
WORKING ON BUILDING A CONSTITUENCY AT THE GRASSROOTS  
LEVEL OF THE PARTY.  
8. ALTHOUGH THEY DESCRIBED A STRATEGY FOR CONVOKING  
THE CONTROVERSIAL PARTY CONGRESS TARGETED FOR THE END  
OF JANUARY, THE THREESOME COULD NOT EXPLAIN HOW THE  
MDR WOULD GET THROUGH THIS WEEK. THEY ASSURED  
CHARGE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PARTY POLITICAL BUREAU  
WHICH IS DOMINATED BY HUTU HARDLINERS HAS AGREED TO  
ACCPY WITHOUT QUALIFICATION FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AS  
PRIME MINISTER IN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT. THIS  
WOULD APPEAR TO RULE OUT A CHALLENGE EITHER IN THE  
STREETS OR IN THE COURTS, SHOULD TWAGIRAMUNGU PROCEED

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TO INSTALL THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT REPRESENTATION FROM THE DISMAS FACTION OF THE MDR. ASKED HOWEVER IF THERE WAS SOMEONE FROM THEIR GROUP WILLING TO SERVE IN TWAGIRAMUNGU'S GOVERNMENT, ALL THREE LAUGHED AND ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DO SO. THE CHARGE COMMENDED THEIR EFFORTS AT BRIDGING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS OF THE PARTY BUT REFUSED TO ENDORSE THEIR STRATEGY FOR CONVENING THE PARTY CONGRESS WHICH CALLS FOR REVERTING TO THE PRE-AUGUST 1992 PARTY LEADERSHIP, A SIX PERSON COMMITTEE THAT

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04577 02 OF 03 271539Z  
INCLUDED TWAGIRAMUNGU.

FAUSTIN A STATESMAN?  
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9. TWAGIRAMUNGU ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE CHRISTMAS DAY REBUTTING ONE FROM THE BISHOP'S FOLLOWING ANOTHER UNSUCCESSFUL MEDIATION EFFORT DECEMBER 22. THE BISHOPS CHASTISED FAUSTIN FOR HIS INTENTION TO NAME HIS GOVERNMENT BEFORE AN MDR PARTY CONGRESS. HE REMINDED THEM FIRMLY IN THE COMMUNIQUE HE READ ON THE RADIO THAT THEY WERE WELCOME TO MEDIATE BUT HAD NO AUTHORITY TO INTERFERE WITH THE INSTALLATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO SAID THAT INTERNAL PARTY DIFFERENCES COULD NOT RETARD THE PROCESS.

THE RPF ARRIVED ON CHRISTMAS  
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10. ON THE EVENING OF CHRISTMAS DAY, THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF RPF SOLDIERS ARRIVED IN KIGALI. THE REST OF THE SOLDIERS FOR A TOTAL OF 600 SHOULD BE IN TOWN BY TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28. AS EXPECTED THEY HAVE SET UP THEIR QUARTERS AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING. ON SUNDAY THE GROUNDS WERE POPULATED WITH SEVERAL GROUPS OF BANGLADESHI SOLDIERS FROM UNAMIR. CHARGE NOTED WORKMEN REINFORCING THE PARAMETER FENCE ALONG THE BACK ENTRANCE TO THE ASSEMBLY BUILDING. OTHERWISE, THE EVENT HAS PASSED WITH LITTLE FANFARE DESPITE THE PREVAILING NERVOUSNESS THROUGHOUT THE CITY.

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04577 02 OF 03 271539Z

RPF NAMES PARTICIPANTS  
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11. THE RPF USED ITS RADIO STATION RADIO MUHABURA TO  
ANNOUNCE AT NOON MONDAY DECEMBER 27 ITS PARTICIPANTS  
IN THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS ITS FUTURE  
PARTY LEADERSHIP. BECAUSE OF STATIC AND  
INTERFERENCE, WE DO NOT YET HAVE ALL OF THE NAMES.  
THE ONES THAT ARE KNOWN ARE AS FOLLOWS:

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04577 03 OF 03 271540Z  
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	/041W						

-----145E8B 271540Z /38

P 271532Z DEC 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5382  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 04577

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SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: THE PLOT THICKENS

A) GOVERNMENT (5)

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04577 03 OF 03 271540Z

-- MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR AND COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT:  
PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU (HUTU, EX-DIRECTOR OF ELECTROGAZ,  
CHIEF RPF NEGOTIATOR AT ARUSHA)

-- MINISTER OF HEALTH: COLONEL KAREMERA

-- MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS: MRS.  
KAYUMBA

--MINISTER OF YOUTH: SETH SENDASHONGA (HUTU,  
CURRENTLY EMPLOYED BY UNDP IN NAIROBI WHO LEFT RWANDA  
FOLLOWING PROBLEMS WITH COLONEL LIZINDE)

-- SECRETARY OF STATE FOR REFUGEES AND DISPLACED  
PERSONS: JACQUES BIHOZAGARA (CURRENTLY RPF  
REPRESENTATIVE IN BRUSSELS)

B) DEPUTIES (11)

-- TITO RUTARAMARA (CURRENTLY RPF CHIEF OF OPERATIONS)

-- CHRISTINE MUTONI (RPF HEAD OF SOCIAL SERVICES)

-- KAJEGUHAKWA (BUSINESSMAN ONCE CLOSE TO PRESIDENT  
HABYARIMANA)

-- LIZINDI (FORMER SECURITY CHIEF RELEASED FROM  
RUHENGERI PRISON BY THE RPF IN 1991)

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-- PIERRE NDOLIMANA (LAWYER ON ARUSHA DELEGATION)

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PAGE 03            KIGALI   04577   03 OF 03   271540Z  
C)   PARTY LEADERS

-- PRESIDENT: COLONEL ALEXIS KANYARENGWE

-- VICE PRESIDENT: PATRICK MAZIMHAKA

12.   RADIO MUHABURA ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT KAGAME'S RANK IS MAJOR GENERAL.   WE BELIEVE, ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT CONFIRM, THAT HE WAS DESIGNATED CHIEF OF THE ETAT MAJOR FOR THE GENDARMERIE.

13.   RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE LEFT RPF HEADQUARTER'S IN NORTHERN RWANDA THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 13 FOR A VISIT TO TANZANIA.   HE CALLED ON PRESIDENT MWINYI AND THE PRIME MINISTER DECEMBER 17.   HE WAS REPORTEDLY HEADING FOR ZAMBIA BEFORE RETURNING TO RWANDA.

COMMENT

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14.   A DISPUTE IS BREWING OVER WHO HAS THE AUTHORITY TO DECIDE WHICH DEPUTIES TO SBAT IN THE TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.   THE PEACE ACCORD SPECIFIES THAT THE PARTIES NAME THEIR DEPUTIES, BUT IT NEGLECTS TO SPECIFY WHO THEY PROVIDE THE NAMES TO.   IF THE PRESIDENT, THE LINE-UP WILL FAVOR THE FACTIONS THAT ATTENDED HIS MEETING TODAY.   IF THE PRIME MINISTER, AS HE CLAIMS, THEN A DIFFERENT LINE-UP WILL EMERGE. THE MDR MODERATES TOLD CHARGE THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR PLAYED A ROLE PREVIOUSLY AND INTENDS TO ISSUE PROCEDURAL GUIDELINES ON THE ISSUE.   THIS COULD

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PAGE 04            KIGALI   04577   03 OF 03   271540Z  
RESULT IN UNFORESEEN LAST MINUTE DELAYS IN INSTALLING THE GOVERNMENT.

LEADER

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